Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- [x] Coloured covers/ Couverture de couleur
- [ ] Covers damaged/ Couverture endommagée
- [ ] Covers restored and/or laminated/ Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- [ ] Cover title missing/ Le titre de couverture manque
- [ ] Coloured maps/ Cartes géographiques en couleur
- [ ] Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/ Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- [ ] Coloured plates and/or illustrations/ Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- [x] Bound with other material/ Relié avec d'autres documents
- [x] Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/ La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure
- [ ] Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/ Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.

- [ ] Coloured pages/ Pages de couleur
- [ ] Pages damaged/ Pages endommagées
- [ ] Pages restored and/or laminated/ Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- [x] Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/ Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- [ ] Pages detached/ Pages détachées
- [x] Showthrough/ Transparence
- [ ] Quality of print varies/ Qualité inégale de l'impression
- [ ] Continuous pagination/ Pagination continue
- [ ] Includes index(es)/ Comprend un (des) index

Title on header taken from:/ Le titre de l'en-tête provient:

- [ ] Title page of issue/ Page de titre de la livraison
- [ ] Caption of issue/ Titre de départ de la livraison
- [ ] Masthead/ Générique (périodiques) de la livraison

- [ ] Additional comments:/ Commentaires supplémentaires:

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
						✓					

L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

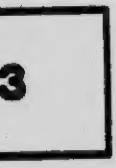
La bibliothèque des Archives nationales du Canada

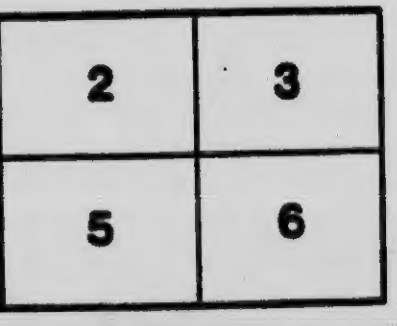
Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole ⟹ signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ▽ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.





ONTARIO ELECTIONS, DEC. 11, 1911

LIBERAL
Campaign Hand Book

NEW MEASURES
AND
A NEW LEADER

"Liberalism has in the policy we now submit to you but indicated the progressive legislation immediately and urgently needed. From this position Liberalism will never recede. We will use this as a base and every change will be an advance."—N. W. ROWELL, at Massey Hall, Nov. 15, 1911.

GENERAL REFORM ASSOCIATION
FOR ONTARIO
32 TORONTO ST. TORONTO

PRESS COMMENTS

Montreal Herald: "A man of profound convictions and somewhat deep religious feeling, accustomed to the exercise of faith and to looking for results a little further off than the hand can reach."

Cornwall Freeholder: "His sterling character, his identification with great moral and religious movements, his intense zeal and earnestness, his eloquence as a platform speaker, will make him a conspicuous figure."

Woodstock Sentinel: "... an ardent Liberal, a man of conviction and of character."

Toronto World (Con.): "... young and clean, and brave, and able and eloquent."

Welland Tribune: "His selection has infused new life and vigor in the ranks of the Liberals of Ontario."

Stratford Herald (Con.): "His record is one of adherence to high ideals."

Bloodaay Post: "In him is exemplified the highest type of Canadian citizenship."

Smith's Falls Record: "In appointing such a man to the leadership, the Liberal Association has done about the best day's work for Liberalism in this Province that has been done in years."

Brantford Expositor: "... his progressive ideas and unquestioned ability appeal to all people."

Brockville Times (Con.): "... an able lawyer with a clean record."

Le Temps: "Fortunate is this Province and her people, at this time, of having one so worthy available to lead and direct the policy of the Liberal party."

Huntsville Forester: "... a man against whom no breath of accusation has been heard touching his personal character."

Brockville Recorder: "... raised on a farm, he knows the requirements of both urban and rural life."

Hamilton Spectator (Con.): "With a progressive and aggressive leader and a following enthusiastic in the support of such a policy as will keep Sir James and his Administration "bumping" in the direction of advanced legislation in the interests of the people, the Liberal party in this Province will quickly rehabilitate itself."

Kingston Standard (Con.): "Public life will be the better for the presence of such a man."

Hamilton Herald (Ind.): "... ability unquestioned, and character such as to inspire confidence."

London Advertiser: "... may be depended upon to take advanced ground in all questions affecting the moral and material welfare of the people of Ontario."

Weekly Sun (Ind.): "... may be expected to make a record which will be a credit to himself and a matter of pride to his followers."

Peterboro Review (Con.): "... a splendid reputation, a strong church connection, and an irreproachable character."

INTRODUCTION

THE Liberal Party in Ontario can point to a past of honorable achievement,—

The battle under Mowat which resulted in securing to this Province territory justly belonging to it;

The conflict which for all time assured the legislative supremacy of the Province within its own sphere;

The Succession Duties Act under which great estates are, on the death of the testator, compelled to contribute to the public revenues of the Province in which they have been acquired;

The blazing of the way in public ownership by the Province by the building of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway;

The opening up of New Ontario with its vast resources in silver, timber and agricultural wealth;

Thirty years of legislation which put Ontario in the van of the march of progress.

These are achievements of the past to which all Liberals can point with pride.

But the Liberal party is not one which rests on the past. Its face is to the rising sun. Under the leadership of a man on whom the mantle of Blake, of Mowat, of Fraser, of Pardee and of Hardy rests, it appeals to the people of Ontario on a platform that fills the needs of the Ontario of to-day.

TO DEVELOP ONTARIO'S NORTHLAND

The Province of Ontario has a magnificent asset in its northland. That asset has been allowed to lie largely dormant for nearly seven years.

The Liberal policy calls for activity and enterprise where there is now lethargy and stagnation. The first step promised is the creation of a Department of Immigration and Colonization presided over by a Minister who will give his whole time to the development of the north. The extension of the People's Railway to Hudson Bay, thus giving all Ontario a seaport of its own, is also proposed, together with the building of branch lines wherever required. With all this it is proposed that the railway shall be subject to the same control as other railways, through the Railway Commission, in the matter of freight rates, etc., and that persons having grievances against the line may bring actions for recovery without first obtaining the consent of the Attorney-General.

In dealing with the actual problem of settlement there is promised more liberal grants for roads; loans to settlers on the security of their holdings; special aid to pioneer schools. For the miner and prospector there is promised reduced fees for recording, greater stability for titles and an eight-hour day for underground workers.

It will be recalled that when the Liberal Government proposed the project of a government-built and government-operated railway, the then Conservative Opposition did not receive the suggestion kindly. Amid carping criticism the great work of opening up the practically unknown hinterland was inaugurated. Sir James Whitney himself was among the severest critics and scornfully designated the district as "the land of the stunted poplar." But Liberalism persevered in its project, and the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario Railway was constructed with a view to open up communication and assist in colonizing the vast unsettled northern country, which promised big agricultural possibilities. The discovery of Cobalt and other centres of mineral wealth was directly attributed to the construction of the new railway. Cobalt sprang from a railway siding.

When the Whitney Government entered office Hon. Frank Cochrane, whom the Conservative Toronto Telegram describes as the "Rip Van Winkle" of the Administration, was appointed

by Premier Whitney to represent the new country in his Cabinet. Mr. Cochrane's interest was confined to the lumbering and mining industries. With the wonderful agricultural possibilities of the great clay belt of possibly twenty million acres he had apparently little concern. With the colonization of the country he demonstrated little sympathy. With the building up of contented and progressive communities he showed small practical interest. With developing arteries of communication and constructing good permanent roads he had not much to do. His concern was in the revenue-producing abilities of the timber growth and mining deposits.

COUNTRY LEFT TO GROW.

As a consequence comparatively little has been done along the lines originally proposed by the Liberal party when it projected the People's Railway. Dissatisfaction throughout the north is general because of the many injustices and anomalies which have been perpetrated or permitted to exist. Northern Ontario—like Topsy—has been graciously permitted to "grow," so far as the Whitney Government are concerned. There has been no stable, intelligent, progressive and co-operative fostering encouragement by an Administration who have not hesitated to avail themselves of all northern opportunities to augment their revenue. It is true that certain extensions of the railway have been made, but action in all cases was only taken after long-drawn-out and repeated assaults on the lethargy of the Government, both by the T. & N. O. Commission and the people themselves, after the Rip Van Winkles at Queen's Park had been prodded out of their slumber.

EXTENSION TO HUDSON BAY.

The original intention of the Liberal Government was to extend the railway to Hudson Bay. The Conservative Government have stopped, apparently satisfied, at Cochrane. In advocating its extension "with all practical speed to a suitable outlet to Hudson Bay" and the construction of branches "as required for the development of the country," the new Liberal leader is in line with the ideals which governed the initiation of the project and the determination to take part in the building up and development of a larger and more prosperous Province.

A SEAPORT FOR ONTARIO.

But the Liberal party propose to go even further. They propose to seek an Ontario port on the Hudson Bay. It is feared that James Bay is practically useless for navigation. For some miles out from the shore the waters of the James Bay are exceptionally shallow, generally but three to four feet deep. There is no natural deep-water channel at any point, and dredging operations would be uncertain and enormously expensive. Ontario must, therefore, seek to obtain a port on Hudson Bay, that she may participate in the trade of the great northern sea, and in the boundary negotiations between Ontario and Manitoba this should be made the vital consideration. With a Conservative Administration at Ottawa, with Hon. Robt. Rogers, late of the Manitoba Government, as one of its dominating forces, and Hon. Frank Cochrane, the "Rip Van Winkle" of northland development, as Ontario's representative, this Province stands an excellent chance of being overlooked when the final boundary alignment is made. It is of absolute necessity to the future working out of a sound Provincial transportation policy that Ontario shall be the possessor of a Hudson Bay port which can be navigated by steamers and used for practical shipping. And the Liberal party propose to fight for the rights of the Province in this respect.

Create a Department of Immigration and Colonization;

Extend T. & N. O. to Hudson Bay;

Reduced fees for prospecting and recording mineral claims;

An eight-hour day for underground miners.

TO IMPROVE RAILWAY BOARD

In no one particular has the Whitney Government proved more disappointing than in its appointments to important offices. In none of its appointments has lack of judgment been more conspicuously shown than in the creation of the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board.

With the knowledge of the valuable service rendered by the Dominion Railway Commission fresh in mind high hopes were entertained when in 1906 an Act was passed in line with the policy of the Liberal party as set forth in their platform of 1904 for the creation of a Board with somewhat similar powers in Ontario. These hopes were checked when the personnel of the new Board was announced.

Probably the only thing which may be advanced as the Board's excuse for existence during its five years of life was its initial affirmation of a Provincial enactment that a two-cent-per-mile rate should prevail on all railways under the jurisdiction of Ontario—an administrative rather than creative act. In other matters where trying grievances have driven various municipalities to the point of exasperation, the Board's conduct has proved wholly disappointing to those who looked for either inclination or ability to afford relief. There has been a conspicuous lack of mandatory authority to enforce even such orders as have been made.

There have been unseemly squabbles between the members and judgments that have been at direct variance with enlightened public opinion. So farcical has the situation become that Mr. W. K. McNaught, Conservative member for North Toronto, of whose sincerity there can be no doubt, speaking at a meeting of the Conservative Club in his riding, on Monday, October 16, said: "Something will have to be done unless the Board turns over a new leaf. The Board was designed to look after the interests of the common people just as the Railway Board at Ottawa does. That is what the Government appointed them for, and if they have failed, they have failed to do their duty." The Premier, Sir James Whitney, was himself compelled by the force of public opinion to take cognizance of the matter, and made the tardy admission that, "It is evident there is a screw loose somewhere," adding that, "It is possible therefore that a reorganization may be necessary." It has taken the Provincial Government a long time to ascertain this fact, and with its customary lethargy no attention would have been paid to the needs of the public had it not been for the outcry occa-

sioned by the anomaly presented in the recent burlesque minority judgment over an application of the Toronto & York Radial Railway Company in respect of its Metropolitan division.

The Liberal policy promises the creation of a Railway Board for Ontario equal in efficiency to the Dominion Railway Commission.

ABOLISH THE THREE-FIFTHS HANDICAP

The Liberal party stands pledged to abolish the three-fifths handicap in local option contests and to allow a straight majority to rule.

In the five years that the three-fifths requirement has been law it has operated to make local option permanent in only one solitary municipality. It has operated to make licenses remain in one hundred and twenty municipalities. Notwithstanding all this the Government still refuse to yield and continue to maintain this liquor-favoring and progress-hindering injustice.

In the last five years the people have, by majority vote, declared in favor of prohibition in 306 municipalities.

Owing to the three-fifths handicap prohibition has been put in force only in 186 municipalities.

The people voted for licenses in only 81 municipalities.
The law forced licenses upon 201 municipalities.
The people voted for the closing of 913 barrooms.
The law permitted the closing of only 492 barrooms.
The people voted for the keeping [illegible]n of 322 barrooms.
The law compelled the keeping o[illegible] of 743 barrooms.

HAD MAJORITY RULE AT ONE TIME.

Prior to 1906 the electors of the Province of Ontario had the right by a majority vote to adopt local option by-laws prohibiting the retail sale of liquor within their municipalities. At the session of the Provincial Legislature in 1906 the Whitney Government amended the law and provided that thereafter a local option by-law could not be adopted unless approved of by three-fifths of the electors voting thereon.

When this legislation was enacted local option by-laws were in force in 105 municipalities. The new law provided that in the municipalities where local option was then in force it could be repealed any time by a majority vote, but in the municipalities thereafter carrying local option a three-fifths vote was necessary to repeal.

Since the new provision has come into operation local option by-laws have been voted upon in 387 municipalities. In 186 of these the temperance party have secured the required three-fifths and have won. In 81 of them the liquor party have secured majorities and have won. In 120 the local option by-laws have had majorities in their favor, and have been defeated because that majority was not up to the three-fifths requirement.

THE HANDICAP HURTS.

It will be seen that by the votes of the electors on the fair majority plan local option **by-laws were carried in 306 municipalities and beaten in 81, but the three-fifths requirement changed the result of the voters' action so that the by-laws were carried in only 186 municipalities and defeated in 201.**

EFFECT UPON ENFORCEMENT.

It is easier to enforce a law of general application than one which makes liquor-selling unlawful on one side of the street while authorizing it on the other. By lessening the number of local option municipalities the three-fifths requirement makes the work of enforcement far more difficult than it would otherwise be.

For example take the case of the county of Dufferin. There every municipality is under local option except the village of Grand Valley. In Grand Valley in January last the electors declared by a vote of 146 to 112 that they desired local option, but still fell short of the three-fifths requirement. Here we have, then, a large community overwhelmingly in favor of local option as a whole, but the usefulness of the measure is blocked by liquor-selling legalized against the will of the people, and the permanence of local option in every affected municipality is thereby imperilled.

NOT NEEDED TO PREVENT REPEAL.

The theory that the three-fifths requirement is needed to give permanence to local option by-laws is disproved by the effective test of experience. On January 2 last there were 134 municipalities in this Province where local option by-laws had been in force for three years or more and where, therefore, the question of repeal could be voted upon. In 76 of these the by-laws had been carried on the old majority plan and therefore could be repealed by a majority vote.

In these 134 places local option was so permanently established that only three repeal contests were brought on and none of the three was among the 76 that carried on a majority plan. In the three places voting the poll stood for local option 1,043 against 529.

The three-fifths requirement was not needed in any of the places in which it applied. It was not needed in any of the 76 that had been barred from its alleged benefits. It is not needed to prevent the bringing on of repeal votes. It is not needed to prevent repeal when a contest is brought on.

If the popular vote ruled, 913 bars would have been closed in the last five years.

Because of the three-fifths handicap, 421 bars have, despite the popular vote against, been permitted to remain open.

MR. ROWELL'S STATEMENT

Social and Industrial Betterment.

The evils of intemperance are so serious and so widespread that all concerned in the social, moral and industrial betterment of the people must be deeply interested in the question of how to put an end to these evils. We do not hesitate to affirm that present conditions are not satisfactory, that the present Government has not given adequate temperance legislation. All will admit that the question presents great practical difficulties, and there are marked differences of opinion even among those interested in the temperance cause as to the character of the legislation which would best meet the requirements of our Province and insure the permanent progress of temperance reform. But the difficulties of the problem increase rather than diminish the responsibility of our legislature.

As you are all aware, I have taken a deep interest in this question for many years, and since I became leader of the party I have had the benefit of many valuable suggestions as to the form which legislation should take.

Some have urged that the best results would be secured by removing the present handicap of the three-fifths vote on local option, putting an end to political interference with the administration of the liquor laws, and that with these handicaps removed we might look forward to the almost universal adoption of local option throughout Ontario. Others have urged that nothing short of Provincial prohibition will meet the situation or really satisfy the demands of the people; still others that banish the bar is the policy which should be adopted; others banish the bar and place under Government control the residue of the traffic; still others a steady and progressive reduction in the number of licenses issued, so that at the end of say ten years, we should have no liquor licenses in the Province. I might go on multiplying the suggestions that are made, all by men sincerely interested in the cause of temperance. The form of legislation is so important, the interests at stake so large, and the result may have such a vital effect upon the well-being of the people of this Province, I am sure you will agree with me that the most careful investigation and deliberate consideration should be given to the solution of so far-reaching and difficult a problem.

It is our intention to give early consideration to this matter in all its bearings, and the decisions at which we arrive will be laid before the people and the people will have an opportunity of passing judgment upon our policy at the next general election, not in the form of a referendum, but as the policy of the party, upon which we will stand or fall, but we shall not fall. The promise I now make is that I shall enter upon the investigation and consideration of the question with the sole desire to reach a conclusion which will best promote the real interests of temperance, and every step taken will be a step in advance.

Meanwhile, we now submit for the judgment of the electors two very important specific proposals. The first is the abolition of the three-fifths vote in local option contests. Before the present Government came into power the electors could adopt local option by a simple majority. If the three-fifths vote were necessary to guarantee the permanency of the law, there might be something to be said in its favor. But if it is not necessary to guarantee the permanency, it should not be retained to block the progress of temperance reform.

Experiences of the Past.

Speaking generally, there has been no difference so far as repeals are concerned between the municipalities which carried local option by a simple majority and those which carried it by a three-fifths vote. The permanency of the law has not been guaranteed by the majority with which it was carried, but by the success of local option when put into practical operation. The experiences of the past six years prove, as the Dominion Alliance, the organized voice of the temperance forces of the Province, has repeatedly declared that the three-fifths vote is not necessary to guarantee the permanence of the local option laws.

What has been its effect on the progress of temperance reform? Since 1906 local option has been voted upon in 387 municipalities with 1,235 licenses. In 306 municipalities with 913 licenses, the local option by-laws secured a majority vote, but by reason of the three-fifths requirement it failed in 120 municipalities with 421 licenses.

By the action of the Whitney Government 120 municipalities have been prevented from putting a stop to the sale of liquor, and 421 licenses were authorized to continue in business, though the people voted by a majority to close them up. Do you approve of this barrier of the progress of temperance reform?

This three-fifths requirement we propose to abolish at once with respect to all future contests, so that all municipalities hereafter adopting local option may carry it by a simple majority and repeal it by a like majority. Those which have passed local option by a three-fifths vote will still require a three-fifths vote to repeal it. The issue is clearly and sharply drawn on this question between the Government and the Liberal party. If you believe that this great handicap to the cause of temperance reform should be removed, then I appeal for your support in this contest.

Removal from Political Influence.

Another plank in our platform is that during the continuance of the license system we will secure the removal of its administration from political influence. All men who have any knowledge of the political affairs of this country, both those engaged in the traffic and those out of it, recognize that political interferences and political pull in the administration of the liquor laws of this Province impair the political independence of the hotel keepers themselves, pollute the administration of justice at its source and is prejudicial to the highest welfare of the people of the Province. The Government of Sir James Whitney came into power in 1905 on the promise that it would remove the administration of the law from political influence, and the Government apparently attempted to carry out this pledge in certain sections of the Province by appointing License Commissioners of the highest standing, who would administer the law as they found it, unmoved by political considerations. In the City of Toronto, you will remember, they appointed a Board of License Commissioners, consisting of Mr. J. W. Flavelle, the late John I. Davidson, and Mr. J. A. Murray, but before nine months had elapsed the political pull had been so great that these men in self-respect were compelled to tender their resignation. In their letter of resignation they stated:

"The Commissioners accepted office reluctantly as a public duty, on the personal assurance of the Premier and the written statement of the Provincial Secretary that the Government desired a fair, fearless, and non-partizan administration of the License Act."

And then after reviewing the causes which led to their resignation, they state:

"The course followed seems to have been designed by men inflamed with passion for office or for dispensing patronage, who determined to get rid of Commissioners who refused to play the part of hired men, subject to the dictation of party followers. The Government, by their action, have approved of this course, hence the usefulness of the present Commissioners is at an end. They accepted at full value the statements made by the Premier and his responsible Minister, the Provincial Secretary, that they desired an honest, non-partisan enforcement of the License Act, and as no other administration was possible while the office was held by the present Board, they step aside to permit the Government to secure a Board in accordance with its present policy."

What One Paper Said.

The News, the most influential journalistic supporter of the present Government, referring to this resignation and the causes which led to it, stated in the issue of November 28th, 1905:

"We venture to think that these proceedings change the whole relation of the Government to the liquor trade in Toronto and throughout the Province. There could be no clearer intimation that the enforcement of the law is held to be secondary to the interests of the Conservative party,

and that the spoils faction, which, noisy as it is, does not constitute two per cent. of any political party, exercises a controlling influence over Mr. Whitney and his associates."

The Toronto News is in a position to know the conditions under which the present Government administers the affairs of this Province, and I accept its statement at its full face value "that there could be no clearer intimation that the enforcement of the law is held to be secondary to the interests of the Conservative party, and that the spoils faction . . . . exercises a controlling influence over Mr. Whitney and his associates." The misfortune of it all is, from the standpoint of the Province and of the cause of temperance reform, that conditions have been growing worse and political influence and the spoils system have been steadily increasing their baneful influence in the administration of the liquor license laws of this Province. We also find that similar conditions are commencing to prevail with reference to law enforcement. I give the present Government credit that during the earlier years of its administration it put forth a vigorous and in many respects successful, effort to enforce the liquor laws of this Province, but recently, and no doubt largely due to the increasing domination of political considerations in its enforcement, there has been a serious relaxation in law enforcement. In the report of the Executive Committee of the Ontario Branch of the Dominion Alliance for the year 1911, they state:

"We regret, however, to have to say that for the last two or three years there has been a decided falling off along this line, and to-day things seem to be slipping back into the old rut of incompetent and bad officials, and unfriendly Board of License Commissioners.

"To-day, instead of praise, there must be censure of the present Government for laxity along this line. Conditions in the Province of Ontario are not now as good as they were three or four years ago, so far as the local officers are concerned.

"The thing that has saved the situation from becoming intolerable is the good work of the Provincial inspectors. The energy and ability of these seemingly ubiquitous officers but make more evident the good-for-nothingness of many of the local officials.

"Complaints are continually and increasingly coming into the Alliance office about law violation. The secretary replies, asking if the matter has been reported to the local inspector, and, with disheartening sameness, the answer comes back, 'Our local inspector is no good.'"

Conditions Worse Than Ever.

And now Mr. Ayearst, who was Chief Inspector, has retired and gone West, and since his retirement I am led to believe conditions have become still worse. The only satisfactory remedy for these conditions is the elimination of political influences from the administration of the liquor license laws of this Province, not by the appointment of a commission for which the Government will not be responsible, but by the appointment of a commission or commissioners, for whose acts the Government will be responsible. Here again, the issue is clearly and sharply defined between the Government and the Liberal party. Our platform is to secure the removal of the administration of the license laws from political influences. If you believe in that policy, we ask for your support.

DECADENCE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

There is no item of educational policy in any country more important than the training and certification of public school teachers. If the State undertakes to make a certain amount of public school instruction obligatory on parents and children, the State must be held bound to see that those who impart the instruction are competent to do the work.

It is not possible to secure that every teacher in the public schools of Ontario shall be thoroughly qualified for the position, but it is possible to secure that every teacher shall have certain qualifications which should be regarded as an indispensable minimum. They should all have passed a written examination in certain prescribed subjects, and they should all have spent some time in getting such a professional training as wise and experienced instructors may be able within reasonable limits to impart. If they have never received such a training they will have to learn everything at the expense of the children on whom they are permitted to experiment.

Prior to the commencement of the Whitney regime the intending teacher could secure in a short session between midsummer and Christmas a few weeks of professional training and on the strength of it obtain a third-class certificate good for three years. The training was provided in "county model schools," many of which were well equipped for imparting it. If all of them were not so, then steps should have been taken to improve them instead of abolishing them. The teacher's training in those days was comparatively inexpensive, and after one year of successful experience he might attend a normal school to get a certificate of higher grade valid for life.

The abolition of the county model schools by the Whitney Government was carried out in defiance of protests from many quarters; especially it was pointed out that it would tend to lessen the number of properly certificated teachers, and thus render necessary the granting of special certificates, if the schools were not to be closed for want of teachers. What was predicted years ago has been happening every year since, until the proportion of special to regular certificates has become so large as to be a public scandal. A few weeks ago Hon. A. G. MacKay, then leader of the Opposition, called attention in a published interview to this state of affairs. "Last year," he said, "we find that in

the riding of East Peterboro 42 per cent. of the rural schools were in the hands of untrained and non-qualified teachers, holding only what are usually called permits. The actual number of such teachers was nineteen. For the west inspectorate of Northumberland and Durham there were in 1900, in seventy rural schools, two first-class teachers, twenty-two second-class and forty-six third-class, and not a single teacher holding any kind of a temporary certificate or permit. In the same seventy schools in 1910 there were two first-class teachers, twenty-seven second-class, twenty-two third-class and nineteen with no regular qualifications. That the deterioration indicated by these statistics has been going on all over the Province is made quite certain by the following table taken from the report of the Minister of Education for 1910:

	No. of teachers.	1st class.	2nd class.	3rd class.	Other certi-cates.
1867	4,890	1,899	2,454	386	151
1872	5,47[illegible]	1,337	1,477	2,084	578
1877	6,468	250	1,304	3,926	988
1882	6,857	246	2,169	3,471	971
1887	7,594	252	2,553	3,865	924
1892	8,480	261	3,047	4,299	873
1897	9,128	343	3,386	4,465	984
1902	9,367	608	4,296	3,432	1,031
1907	9,893	715	3,887	3,452	1,839
1908	10,085	767	3,979	3,565	1,774
1909	10,274	793	4,732	2,971	1,778

Starting with 1872, the first year after the new system came into force under the school act of 1871, the percentage of other than regular certificates for the whole Province was ten and a half; in 1877 it was fifteen; in 1882, fourteen; in 1887, twelve; in 1892, ten and a third; in 1897, ten and one-fifth; in 1902, eleven; in 1907, nearly eighteen and a half; in 1908, seventeen and a half; in 1909, seventeen and one-third. As rural schools suffer more than urban schools from this evil, it is interesting to note that in 1907 the percentage of non-regular certificates in rural schools was twenty; in 1908, nearly nineteen and a half; and in 1909, nearly twenty-one." In short, the above officially compiled table shows that from 1872, when the Liberals came into power, till 1905, when they went out of office, the percentage of non-regular certificates steadily decreased, and that from the abolition of the model schools by the Whitney Government the percentage was materially

increased. There never was a clearer case of cause and effect than the obvious relation between the abolition of these schools and the present scarcity of properly certificated teachers.

Between 1867 and 1910 the total number of teachers in the Province *increased* from 4,890 to 10,274.

The number of first-class teachers *decreased* in the same time from 1,899 to 793.

The number of third-class teachers *increased* from 336 to 2,971.

In 1910 no less than 1,143 teachers were teaching on temporary certificates.

BILINGUAL SCHOOLS.

The Liberal policy on the bilingual school question was admirably stated by Mr. Rowell in his great speech at Massey Hall November 14, 1911.

"The question of bilingual schools has aroused great public interest throughout the Province, The Government has been strongly urged to declare its policy. It has failed to do so. The Government appointed an able commissioner many months ago to investigate and report. It has been suggested that it is hurrying on the election before this report is presented so as to avoid a declaration of policy on this important question. The people of this Province should not permit the Government to evade the issue or shirk the responsibility. The Government does not require an educational expert in order to define its general attitude or policy on this question. It may require educational experts to devise the best possible methods of giving effect to its policy. The failure of the Government to grapple with this question and to declare its policy is responsible for the present agitation throughout the country. The Government has been administering the affairs of the Department of Education for about seven years. If they knew of the conditions and are satisfied with them, they should frankly and publicly defend them. If they knew of the conditions and were not satisfied with them, they should have had the courage and capacity to grapple with them and seek to remedy that which they believed needed remedy. If they did not know of the conditions, then their administration is incompetent and inefficient. The electors of this Province have a right to hear from

Sir James Whitney when he opens his campaign, a statement of the policy of the Government in connection with these schools. As the Government is responsible for the administration of the Department of Education, it has been suggested to me that it is not needful that the leader of the Opposition should do more than demand of the Government a statement of its policy, but on a question of this moment I think the electors have a right to know the policy of the Opposition. Let us look, then, at the facts as they present themselves.

"At the present time our French-Canadian fellow-citizens in this Province number about 250,000. They constitute almost one-tenth of our entire population, and their number is increasing. Apparently the teaching in many of their schools is neither satisfactory to them nor to us, their children are not receiving the education they should have to fit them for their life-work. Two very divergent views have been presented as to the policy which we should pursue in dealing with these schools. First, the view of some who would prohibit the use of French in any of the schools of the Province and would compel all the scholars to learn English and learn English alone; in short, would entirely wipe out of existence any school except a school where English alone is taught. And at the other extreme there are those who claim that there should be no requirement that the children should learn English or in our schools study or acquire any language other than the French language. The supreme consideration in determining the policy to be pursued must be the welfare of the children, and best promote their interests, and viewed from the standpoint of the interests of the children we cannot approve or support either of these extreme position. English is the language of this continent. It is the official language of this Province. Our French-Canadian fellow-citizens will agree with us that any child in this Province who does not acquire at school a good working knowledge of English is handicapped in the struggle for life, and has fewer avenues of advancement opened to him than he otherwise would have. It is the duty of the State, therefore, to see that in every School of the Province every child receives a thorough English education. But, on the other hand, we should not seek to prevent the children of our French-Canadian fellow-citizens retaining the use of their own mother tongue. What we are concerned about is that they should master English and not that they should be ignorant of French. The problem in its working out is largely one of teachers and administration, and it is in this view that we have adopted the following policy on which we stand.

"To provide through adequate training schools a sufficient supply of competent teachers and thus insure under proper regulations that the pupils in every school in the Province shall receive a thorough English education."—N. W. Rowell at Massey Hall, November 15th, 1911.

AGRICULTURE AS IT IS AND AS IT MAY BE

The position of agriculture in Ontario is such as to cause serious alarm. While the cities and towns of the Province have increased in population by well on to 350,000 in the last ten years the population of the townships has decreased by nearly 50,000 in the same time. Some of the greatest losses have been sustained in some of the best sections. Tuckersmith, in the magnificent Huron tract, has 638 less people than it had twenty years ago; Innisfil, in Hon. Mr. Duff's county, has gone back by nearly a thousand; Clarke, in grand old West Durham, has fallen off to the extent of nearly a thousand; Aldboro, in the banner county of Elgin, holds 1,500 people less than it did twenty years since.

Under the administration of Hon. Mr. Dryden there was a real revival of agriculture. The modern dairy industry was practically created under his direction; the silo was introduced all over Ontario through his instrumentality; the bacon hog was developed; the fruit-growing industry was promoted. Under Hon. Mr. Duff there has been stagnation.

The Liberal platform gives promise of the beginning of a new era of progress. It is proposed that there shall be established demonstration stations in Ontario where farmers of each section may see the actual results that can be attained by the use of the best seed, handled in the best way, and may learn the varieties of crops best suited to different sections. If these stations do nothing more than hasten the spread of alfalfa all over the Province they will repay their cost many times over. But they can be made to accomplish more than this. They can be made the means of spreading information as to fruit-growing, poultry production, stock feeding and all lines connected with progressive agriculture.

Next in importance to improving the condition of those already here is the matter of increasing our agricultural population. It is proposed to prosecute with vigor and intelligence a

campaign in Great Britain for the purpose of securing not only an adequate supply of farm labor but farm buyers as well. One of the most discouraging features in connection with Ontario agriculture is found in the fact that when a farmer wishes to retire he cannot sell his holding for more than the cost of improvements. Excellent farms can be bought in Ontario to-day at a price not more than equal to four years' rental of agricultural land in Great Britain. This is not because of lack of value; it is due to absence of buyers. The carrying of knowledge of these facts to every corner of the British Isles cannot fail to bring to our shores men of the class Ontario most wants—skilled herdsmen and husbandmen, with capital, who will turn to productive account lands now running to grass, and thereby add to the agricultural wealth of Ontario and incidentally benefit every other industry at the same time.

It is time for an aggressive forward policy in Ontario agriculture and Rowell is the man to lead in it.

Rural Ontario has lost nearly 50,000 people under a Policy of Stagnation. Vote for Rowell and Progress.

ASSURED COMPENSATION FOR INJURED WORKMEN

Few persons in Canada have any idea of the loss of life occasioned by industrial accidents in the Dominion. For some years past the Department of Labor at Ottawa has carefully collected statistics in this connection. The results show that of deaths reported to the department of workmen killed in the course of their employment, there is in Canada a yearly average of thirteen hundred. Considering the available sources of information it is doubtful if this includes one-half of all the fatal accidents. Assuming, however, it is three-fifths, that would make a total of two thousand wealth producers killed in every year or twenty thousand in ten years. The number of non-fatal but serious accidents, accidents resulting in a permanent impairment of industrial efficiency is variously estimated at from five to twenty times that number. From the point of view of a nation's greatest economic asset, what a waste of life and labor this is. In ten years twenty thousand of the workers of Canada killed; one hundred thousand, or four times that number permanently injured. Ontario being the largest Province, most of the loss falls on this Province. But that is only the loss to the nation from an economic point of view. Is it possible to estimate what this annual industrial tragedy means of suffering and anguish and hardship to hundreds of thousands of homes. These deaths may be inevitable, they are incidental to the industrial process of to-day. The question naturally arises if they are incidental and inevitable to any industry, why should the industry not bear the cost. Railway companies set aside a sum for loss and damage to rolling stock; manufacturers put aside something in addition to interest to provide for accidents and wear and tear to machinery. The industry carries this. Why should human life be differently estimated? Why should the victim, if his life is spared, be forced to an action at law with all the harrassments and hazards of litigation to get compensation for a life-long injury? Or a fatherless family be forced into court to gain some monetary redress for the loss of a life to which they have looked for support, and which has been claimed by the money making processes of the day? This is the question which hundreds of thousands of workingmen in the mines, the factories, the building and metal trades, and the several branches of transportation have been asking themselves for

Employers' liability insurance companies in the United States received nearly $100,000,000 in premiums in 12 years and there was paid of this in compensation to injured employes only $30,000,000. A good deal of the difference went in law costs in fighting claims.

In Britain, in 1908, only 5,358 cases were taken into court out of 328,957 cases in which compensation was paid injured workmen.

In Ontario compensation is too seldom paid without litigation or the threat of it.

The Liberal policy pledges the adoption of the British plan in Ontario with an absolute assurance of compensation in every case in which injury is sustained in industrial employment.

years, and this is the question which they look to those who are seeking their support to answer. What answer has Mr. Whitney given? None; he has shelved the whole question. He has appointed a Chief Justice of one of the Courts to report upon it, and the Chief Justice has been nearly a year upon the task and has not reported yet. What the workingmen of Ontario want is not reports by any Chief Justice. They have had enough to do with Judges and Law Courts. They want to get away from the necessity of resorting to the law. They want justice, but not justice obtained through litigation. Now this is what Mr. Rowell and the Liberal party are pledged to give them. Nothing could be more complicated or in some respects unfair than the law on workmen's compensation as it is in Ontario to-day. It is as respects similar legislation in other Provinces far behind the legislation of Alberta, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and British Columbia. The Liberal party promises a law modified after recent legislation in Britain.

Wherein is that legislation different from our own? In Ontario under the law as it stands, the onus is on the workingman or his representative to prove that the employer or those in charge under him is guilty of negligence. In the English law negligence on the part of the employee as a ground of defence by the employer has been abolished. Moreover, instead of leaving it to a jury to fix the amount of damages the statute fixes specific sums for specific injuries, with the result that employers have found it profitable to insure their work

men against accident and settle in the majority of cases on the basis fixed in the schedule instead of going into Court. The English Act further extends the provisions of the Act to injury occasioned through certain occupational diseases. Compensation in all cases of death and injury and industrial disease should be fixed and paid without litigation at all, and by a system of contribution by industry or by some other plan the payment of compensation should be guaranteed in the event of insolvency. This is what is meant by the declaration in the Liberal platform that payments should be certain in all cases of compensation. What chance has an injured workman against a corporation? Much less what chance the dependants of a deceased workman? These industrial accidents are inevitable to certain industrial processes; humanity demands that the pain and injury be not aggravated through litigation, and justice demands a known compensation for a known loss. This certainly would lead to a more effective prevention of accidents. If this is what the workingmen of Ontario want, let them support the party that is pledged to give them this long-needed redress.

The Rowell Policy provides compensation for every soldier in the industrial army who is injured at the post of duty.

REFORM IN TAXATION

The present system under which taxation is levied, for municipal purposes, has caused profound discontent in two well-defined quarters—in the great cities and in New Ontario.

In and about growing cities a large number of vacant lots are being held by speculators who are waiting until the growth of population and improvements made by others add 20, 30, 50 or 100 per cent. to the value of their holdings. Meantime these holders are paying taxes only on the bare value of their land. On the other hand, holders of adjoining property who have erected valuable buildings, and thus added to the possible selling price not only of their own improved property but of vacant lands alongside, are compelled to pay taxes on the value of their land plus the value of the buildings erected thereon. The facts need only to be stated to show the manifest injustice of the system.

In New Ontario, which is just being settled, like conditions prevail in agricultural sections that are being developed. Speculators are holding unimproved locations, at a mere nominal rate of taxation, while the actual settlers who are opening up the country, and giving value to all lands therein, are taxed not only on their land but on every dollar's worth of improvements made thereon. Here again the injustice is manifest.

The Liberal platform provides that each municipality shall be given the right to so adjust its system of taxation as to remove grievances such as these. It does not propose to say that all municipalities shall collect all their taxes on land values. It does propose that each municipality shall adopt the basis of taxation it deems best suited to its own needs.

Premier Whitney denounces what he calls this checker-board system of taxation. But we have a checker-board system in other matters. Some townships and towns have prohibited the liquor traffic while others have not. Some cities have Sunday cars while others have not. Why not allow equal freedom of choice as to the manner in which taxation shall be levied, for local purposes, as well?

The Rowell Policy provides for Local Option in taxation. It provides for relief from a system under which the Speculator profits at the expense of the Improver.

RAILWAY TAXATION

The Liberal platform proposes to apply precisely the same system of taxation to the property of a railway company that is applied to the property of a private citizen.

What is the system in force now? A railway runs through an Ontario farm. The farm is assessed, for municipal purposes, on the value at which it would be appraised if taken in payment of the just debts of a solvent debtor. The assessment is not only on the bare land but on the improvements in the form of fences, buildings, drainage, orchards and so on. The railway is assessed on the value of the bare land covered by its right of way. Ties are exempt; rails are non-assessable; rolling stock wholly escapes the reach of the municipal tax-gatherer.

It is true there is a small Provincial tax, but this does not equal a fair levy on the value of the franchise alone.

The Single Tax theory is now applied to the railway; it is not applied to the farm. The consequence is that the farm has to bear not only its own full share of the common burdens; it has to bear part of the corporation's share as well.

It is different in the United States. There railway property is taxed according to its fair value just as farm property is taxed. While railway property in Ontario pays $747,000 in taxes in a year, railway property in Michigan, with only one-ninth more in mileage, pays $3,500,000 in taxation. The rate per mile is $90 in this Province; it is over $400 per mile in the adjoining State. Railways, such as the Grand Trunk, that operate both in Michigan and Ontario, pay less than one-fourth the rate per mile here that they do there.

Nor does Michigan stand alone. What is true of that State is true, in a measure, of all other States in the Union. There is not a single State, not even the poorest or most backward, in which the rate of taxation per mile is as low as it is here. Maine, which is nowhere in comparison with Ontario as a traffic producer for railways, collects over three times the rate per mile that is collected here. Wisconsin, which may fairly be compared with Ontario, although its mileage is less, collects nearly five

A railway pays taxes only on its bare land. The farm through which the road runs is taxed on land, buildings, fences, drains, orchards, and everything that is thereon.

times as much per mile in railway taxation as we do here in Ontario. The C. P. R. operates both in Wisconsin and Ontario. It pays about one dollar in taxation in Ontario for five paid in Wisconsin, a State in which earnings per mile are no greater than they are here and where passenger and freight charges are just about level with those in Ontario.

The plank in the Rowell platform which calls for the taxation of railway and other corporation property "in every respect equal to the taxation of the property of private citizens" means a vast addition to the public revenue. It means even-handed justice as between the corporations and the people.

COMPARISONS IN RAILWAY TAXATION

Wisconsin	$ 440 per mile
Michigan	424 " "
New Hampshire	402 " "
Maine	314 " "
Vermont	226 " "
Ontario	90 " "

TO GIVE ELECTRIC POWER TO ALL ONTARIO

One of the most important planks in the Rowell platform is that dealing with conservation. A part of that plank deals with control of water powers.

The principle of the Government assisting municipalities to secure cheap power is a good one. But as applied to Niagara Falls it is a partial policy. Its benefits are confined to one section of the Province.

The Rowell policy contemplates the extension of these benefits to the whole Province as rapidly as circumstances warrant. Niagara is not the only source of possible power supply in Ontario. It is only one of a number of sources. We should secure control of enough of these to bring the benefits of electrical energy, at cost, to other parts of Ontario. By controlling the sources of power the Province can control the cost of power for manufacturing; it can secure the placing of cheap power and cheap light within reach of the villages and farms of the Province; it can largely control the cost of transportation by ordinary electric railway as well as by the great trunk roads

which in no long time will be using electrical energy for motive power.

A FORESTRY POLICY.

Of scarcely less importance is that part of the conservation policy dealing with forestry. The forestry problem of Ontario is not confined to New Ontario. It is present in Old Ontario as well. There is not a county in Ontario that does not contain more or less land wholly unsuited to agriculture but admirably adapted to the growth of timber. There are ravines forming beds for streams; hills and plains that are deteriorating into blow sand to the menace of good land adjacent; rocky hillsides. The covering of these with timber would add to the beauty of the landscape; it would beneficially affect climatic conditions; protect sources of water supply; turn to profitable account in the growing of commercial timber sections now worse than waste. What is proposed is that the Province shall co-operate with the municipalities in accomplishing this object.

More than this is proposed. There are considerable sections which have been cut over but never cleared. In these sections nature is carrying on the work of afforestation but the value of this beneficial work is being largely lost by fires which periodically sweep over the unprotected areas. What is called for, and what is proposed, is a systematic protection of nature's crop which is so rapidly growing into value. There is enough timber land in Old Ontario, properly conserved, to meet the needs of Old Ontario for all time to come, and this will be provided for under the Rowell programme.

By the application of a similar far-sighted comprehensive policy to the forest areas of New Ontario this Province may be made not only for to-day, but for to-morrow, one of the world's chief sources of timber supply and an unfailing and steadily increasing source of Provincial revenue will be created at the same time.

On its conservation policy alone the Rowell programme is one that is deserving the serious consideration of every man interested in the welfare of the Province.

The benefits of the Hydro-Electric system are confined to one section. The Rowell Policy will extend these benefits to all sections.

EXPENDITURE INCREASED BY NEARLY 80 PER CENT.

In 1904 the Provincial revenue amounted to a little over $6,000,000.

The expenditure for the same year was $5,267,000.

There was thus a surplus, over expenditure, of well over $700,000.

For 1910 the revenue of the Province was $8,891,000.

The expenditure of the Province in the same year, leaving out of account capital outlays on the Hydro-Electric, on the Temiskaming Railway, on new Government House, on rebuilding the burned wing of the Parliament Buildings, etc., was over $9,000,000.

Thus, despite an increase of nearly $3,000,000 in revenue, there is to-day a deficit of over $100,000 where there was a surplus of more than $700,000 six years before.

It is true Hon. Mr. Matheson claims a small surplus for the year, but in order to establish a surplus in ordinary expenditure he charges to capital an item of $150,000 for good roads while an item of $91,000 for the same purpose was charged to current expenditure in 1904.

The outlay on ordinary account, aside from items properly chargeable to capital account, has been increased by nearly 80 per cent. in six years.

Not only has the ordinary expenditure of the Province increased at an alarming rate but the debt has grown rapidly as well.

In 1904 the total direct liabilities of the Province were, in round figures, $11,700,000. The indirect liabilities were $2,600,000.

In 1911 the direct liabilities of the Province (see page 57a Public Accounts of Ontario, 1911) were $22,083,430.02. The indirect liabilities of the Province in the same year were $9,260,000.

The direct liabilities have been nearly doubled, the indirect liabilities well nigh quadrupled.

How long will it take the Whitney Government to bankrupt the Province if a check is not put upon its extravagance?

Provincial Expenditure, 1904 - - -	**$5,267,000**
Provincial Expenditure, 1910 - - over	**9,000,000**

2,000,000 ACRES GIVEN AWAY

The statement that the Whitney Government has alienated millions of acres of the public domain in the form of a railway land grant is literally true. The Canadian Northern Railway received a subsidy of 4,000 acres per mile for 500 miles of its proposed line from Sellwood Junction to Port Arthur. The free gift to the railway is thus 2,000,000 acres, or 3,125 square miles. This is an area almost as large as the combined areas of Rhode Island and Delaware States, and larger than any English county except Yorkshire. It is roughly equivalent to a strip of land six miles wide from Montreal to Windsor.

Although the West's experience with the land grants made to the C. P. R. was a lesson in the folly of granting alternate blocks of land to a railway, the same system was adopted by the Whitney Government in subsidizing the C. N. R. The statute in which this subsidy to the C. N. R. was granted sets forth that the land is to be allotted to the railway "in alternate blocks of one township nine miles square" along the line of the railway in the clay belt. It is not therefore barren land which is thus alienated, but the richest agricultural land of New Ontario in Algoma and Thunder Bay, representing about one-eighth of the total estimated acreage of the "clay belt." Moreover, in connection with this grant no settlement conditions were imposed; neither was it required that the pulpwood upon the lands must be manufactured in Ontario.

One railway receives a land grant equal to the combined areas of the States of Rhode Island and Delaware.

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT

In this industrial and commercial age it is to the problems that affect the health and well-being of the mass of the people that the Government should give special attention, the conservation of natural resources is most important, for they constitute the material foundations of a nation's wealth. It must, however, be remembered that a nation is composed of people, and will only be strong in proportion as its men, women and children are strong. The conservation of human resources, of human life, of human energy, is therefore even more important than the conservation of national resources. The older countries have found that it is becoming necessary for them to try to eradicate, at a tremendous cost, conditions which should have never been allowed to grow up. The slums of the cities of the United Kingdom, and the crowded tenements of American cities are doing more to weaken the moral and physical fibre of the people and to spread the disease, than hundreds of social reformers and physicians will be able to undo for generations to come.

The Liberal party pledges itself to pay particular attention to the prevention of the growth of conditions of this kind in Ontario's cities and towns. It views the question of public health and well-being of communities as a State question, and if returned to power will have a department of the Government take up the work of special investigation and supervision of matter affecting the health and well-being of industrial workers and communities, assisting in the work of town planning, and by the prevention of the growth of congested areas. This work would be carried on in a way which at the same time might offset the evils which are resulting from the decline in the rural population in what ought to be one of the great agricultural Provinces of the Dominion.

THE PREVENTION OF CRIME.

Much has been said of the work done by Mr. Hanna in connection with the prison farm at Guelph. Whilst much may be said in favor of what has been attempted, in some respects it marks a beginning at the wrong end, the work of the prevention of crime is vastly more important, and vastly more remunerative to a nation in the long run than the attempted reformation of criminals. If half the thought and expense which have been given to the Guelph farm were given to pre-

venting or eradicating conditions in the Province which make for the deterioration of individuals, to getting poor, but honest folk back onto the land the nation would have scores of healthier and happier families to every reformed criminal as a result of the process. From the point of view of the Liberal party, the man who is most deserving of the State's concern is the man who is doing his part of the world's work and who is struggling against all the evils of an industrial environment, and the handicaps of an industrial system to gain for his children advantages which have been denied to himself. Let prison reform continue, but we must not neglect the more important work.

THE SUPPRESSION OF TUBERCULOSIS.

It is now generally conceded that tuberculosis is begotten largely through housing conditions which should not be permitted to exist, or is developed in certain occupations. It is known that the disease can be spread in a multitude of ways, and that like some other diseases it may throw a blight over a large part of a nation's population. If conservation of human life and energy is an important function of government then this disease and others which for the moment need not be mentioned, should not be left to haphazard treatment either by individuals or societies, the State should tackle its suppression as a national problem, co-operating in some cases with existing private agencies, supplanting them in others. To-day a great deal of time and money is being spent through lack of proper direction in ill-advised schemes. Municipalities are seeking advice without knowing to whom to apply. Societies, instead of co-operating in some general plan, are working at cross purposes or unnecessarily duplicating each other's work. Progress is made in one locality, but is more than offset by the absence of similar measures in others. This country might have the benefit of the accumulated experience of other nations. Literature of first importance might be gathered and disseminated, public opinion educated, advice given to municipalities and societies, industrial callings investigated and reliable statistical data gathered and tabulated, individuals and communities protected. With medical knowledge and science what it is to-day, Ontario has only herself to blame if the white plague or any other plague makes headway in our midst. The Liberal party, as a party, pledges itself to open battle with this disease and calls upon those who desire to safeguard their homes from invasion to join with them in supporting the party which is prepared to undertake this work.

PRESS OPINIONS ON LIBERAL LEADER AND POLICY

The appointment of N. W. Rowell, K.C., as leader of the Liberal party in Ontario has called forth a chorus of approval from the Liberal press. Even the Conservative press could scarce forbear to cheer. The Liberal platform has been equally well received.

A GREAT COMBINATION.

Guelph Mercury: A good leader is extremely desirable in an election campaign; so is a good platform for him to occupy and develop. Better than either alone are the two in combination. That describes exactly the Liberal party in Ontario to-day. To have the rank and file of a party satisfied with their leader and platform is well. To have them enthusiastic over both is very much better, and never were the Liberals of Ontario more enthusiastic than they are in entering this campaign, or with better reason.

POPULAR LEADER.

Carleton Place Herald: The selection of Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., as Liberal leader in Ontario is received everywhere with great enthusiasm and hearty acclaim. The Conservative press is even generous in lauding the new leader.

HAILED WITH SATISFACTION.

Galt Reformer: Liberals all over the Province will hail with a great deal of satisfaction the broad and comprehensive platform as published over the signature of the new leader, Mr. N. W. Rowell.

MEANS MUCH TO PUBLIC LIFE.

The Kingston Standard (Conservative) said editorially: "This there is to be said to Mr. Rowell's credit: that he is a splendid platform speaker, an enthusiastic worker, a loyal Liberal, and a clean gentleman, against whose character and person not a word can be said. Public life will be the better for the presence of such a man. The choice, too, is in itself

a hopeful one in that it indicates that the Liberals, even in their slough of despondency, are honestly seeking after a good man, and they have need of one, for their's is a hard fight."

ONTARIO'S RIP VAN WINKLE

From *The Toronto Telegram* (Conservative)

The late Hon. Rip Van Winkle slept for twenty years amid the peaks of the Catskill mountains, and was offered nothing but a cold potato when he woke up.

The living Hon. Frank Cochrane slept for six and a half years amid the possibilities of the Temiskaming country and was made first Minister from Ontario when he was translated without ever waking up.

Ontario is not entitled to indict the Cochrane administration on the complaint that the prospector or miner is not in the North. The prospector was sure to get there, the gold hunter could not be kept away. The deep damnation of Hon. Frank Cochrane's showing after six and a half years of supremacy is that the priceless man, the farmer, Mr. Cochrane has never put there on fertile acres that will be glorious with farms when gold is no more and silver is forgotten.

YOUNG, CLEAN, BRAVE, ABLE, ELOQUENT.

The Toronto World (Conservative) said editorially: "He (Mr. Rowell) is young, and clean, and brave, and able, and eloquent. He has a reputation for keenness and shrewdness which he will have a full scope in the political field to justify."

LIBERALISM'S PROGRESSIVE POLICY.

Under the heading "Progressive Plank," The Ottawa Citizen (Conservative) said:

"The Liberal party in Ontario has shown itself particularly sensitive to public feeling in the adoption as a plank in its reconstructed platform of the principle of taxation of land values. According to the published schedule of reforms to be

advocated in the future by one of the great political parties in this Province, the system whereby industry is encouraged, and the holding of land out of use rendered unprofitable, is to find a foremost place. It may not even be too much to say that this particular plank will eventually prove the most effective and popular of the various measures to be advocated by the Liberals of Ontario in their efforts to again control the destinies of the Province.

"It is a matter of regret that the Government has allowed the Opposition to forestall it in the advocacy or adoption of a principle which has successfully appealed to the democracy of Britain on three successive occasions, and which is to-day engaging the attention of progressive and enterprising localities throughout the western half of our own land. The immediate results of the taxation of land values, rather than the improvements upon the land, have become so visible in the cases of Canadian western communities that academic discussion of the economic aspect of the question has no longer obstructed the progress of the movement. The West has been 'shown,' to use a native colloquialism.

"In Ontario the educational movement is bearing fruit. It is rather disappointing to find that the Government of the day has thus far failed to recognize the growth of the sentiment in favor of tax reform in this direction, but now that the issue is fairly before the people the opportunity to impress the Administration with the trend of public thought along these lines should not be neglected.'

ONTARIO IS A LAGGARD.

Aside from the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario Railway, which owes its origin to Hon. Geo. W. Ross and its ever-growing efficiency to Sir James Whitney's choice of J. L. Englehart, the whole Department of Mines and Forests has not done as much to open up New Ontario in six years as an adequate department should do in six months.—Toronto Telegram (Conservative).

SIR JAMES WHITNEY'S UNPROGRESSIVE ATTITUDE.

The Hamilton Spectator (Conservative) of November 1, 1911, said editorially: "While this journal has supported Sir James Whitney and his Administration consistently in his general policies, we are not unaware of the fact that Sir James cannot, in the very nature of things, be regarded as the last

word in matters of progressive legislation. In fact, with so dominating a personality as Sir James at the head of an Administration, it is not difficult to imagine that there is even the greater need for the spur of an active and intelligent Opposition to impress upon the strong personality that in a multitude of counsel there is likely to be found more wisdom than can ever hope to be located under any individual hat. And in this connection we note with considerable pleasure that the committee appointed to formulate a policy for the rejuvenated party has already decided upon one very important advance movement by calling for a revison of the Assessment Act under which municipalities will be accorded the right to exempt improvements and tax land values.

"Premier Whitney does not seem to like this bit of suggested permissive legislation. With all due respect to his superior judgment in such matters, we beg to suggest that he has, in this business of assessment, still much to learn; also that he is ill-advised when he ignores the requests of nearly half the municipalities of the Province that such legislation should be granted. Possibly now that the Liberal party under a new leader has endorsed the proposal and proposes to make a fight for its adoption, Sir James will take time to consider it and discover it to his advantage to give it something better than the cold shoulder it has heretofore received from him.

"In the interests of good government in Ontario The Spectator frankly expresses gratification at the results of the Liberal convention in Toronto yesterday. It doesn't matter much to the people of this Province who gives it to them or how they get it, and we believe with Whitney in power and the fortunes of the new Liberal party in such capable hands as those of Hon. Mackenzie King and Mr. Rowell, they will get more of it than would otherwise be the case."

A NOTABLE TRIBUTE FROM A HIGH SOURCE.

The Christian Guardian, November 8: "Probably no event in the recent political life of our Dominion has given a sense of keen satisfaction to more people than the acceptance last week by Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., of this city, of the leadership of the Opposition in Ontario. Mr. Rowell is so well and widely known, both in his profession and in the wider field of public service, and so universally esteemed for his integrity and character, that it is felt on all sides that his acceptance of party leadership will mean a very distinct and positive toning-up of the political life and spirit of the Province.

"Whatever effect Mr. Rowell's assuming of leadership may have upon the fortunes of the party with which he is identified, there can be no doubt at all that his active participation in political life will help to give strength and success to moral issues, and to raise the tone and temper of political discussions and methods. And, without maligning anyone or reflecting unjustly upon the political ideals of our time, for which we are all responsible, it may be asserted that in these matters we are still a little short of perfection.

"The country, and the church as well, is to be congratulated when positively Christian men feel themselves called upon to take part in public affairs and mingle themselves in the actual political life and discussion of the time. The day for such men standing outside with a holier-than-thou attitude and bemoaning the wickedness and immorality of political life is quite gone by. No one should feel his political responsibility more keenly than the one who has the highest ideals as to what political life should be, and no one can be as hardly excused from taking a keen and personal and intelligent interest and participation in all public affairs.

"The number of men of the earnest religious type who are in politics for the country's good and with the idea of public service before them is larger to-day than it has been at least for some years past. Men somewhat of the Mr. Rowell type are not as uncommon in politics as they once were."

COMMANDS GENERAL ESTEEM.

From the Canadian Baptist: "Regardless of political affiliations, we feel sure that our readers will be gratified in the choice made by the Liberals in Ontario in placing Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., at the head of the Opposition in the Legislature. It is important that a leader in a young country like this should have high patriotic, moral and religious ideals, and in this respect Mr. Rowell commands the esteem of both Liberals and Conservatives."

THE LIBERAL PLATFORM

NEW ONTARIO.

In order that the Government may enter seriously upon the problem of the settlement and development of New Ontario, we propose the creation of a Department of Immigration and Colonization, to be presided over by a Minister of the Crown, who shall devote his whole time and energies to this important work; among other matters: to the promotion of settlement; building of roads; insuring other necessary transportation facilities; providing drainage requirements; assisting pioneer settlers to secure loans to a limited extent on the security of the lands occupied by them, repayable over a term of years; giving special assistance to pioneer schools.

Our further policy is the maintenance of the colonization character of the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario Railway; the protection of shippers and settlers from inequitable rates by subjecting the railway to regulation by the Dominion Railway Commission and the general railway law; removing just grounds of complaint by permitting actions at law against the railway without the necessity of first obtaining permission from the Attorney-General; placing the railway in the same position as other railways in the matter of payment of municipal taxes; the extension of the railway with all practicable speed to a suitable outlet to Hudson Bay, and branches as required for the development of the country.

The encouragement of mining by a reduction of the fees for prospecting and recording, by insuring reasonable transportation facilities, and by giving increased stability to mining titles. The securing for underground miners an eight-hour day.

The boundary between Ontario and Manitoba should be so delimited as to give Ontario a suitable port on Hudson Bay for ocean-going vessels.

AGRICULTURE.

We believe that the people of Ontario view with grave concern the serious decline in the rural population of this Province, as disclosed by the recent census, and we propose the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the causes thereof, and to suggest measures which, in the opinion of the Commission, should be taken to prevent any further decline and promote the general agricultural interests of the Province. The Commission should be specially instructed to consider and report upon adequate technical instruction in farming in our rural schools, and special technical education in fruit-growing districts.

In the meantime we propose to adopt measures:—

To bring about the active immigration into this Province of suitable people for settlement and employment upon our farm lands; to induce land-seeking farmers to remain in the Province by locating in New Ontario instead of emigrating to western Canada.

To secure the building of a good roads system throughout Ontario by an issue of Provincial bonds or by other assistance on an adequate scale, thereby facilitating traffic and insuring quick delivery of farm and garden products.

To extend in every feasible way public light, power and telephone services to the farms of the Province.

To provide for the establishment of suitable demonstration farms throughout Ontario; to promote Ontario's apple and general fruit-growing industry by establishing demonstration orchards, and to advertise widely the important and growing apple industry by holding an annual National Apple Show.

To appoint a sufficient number of Provincial inspectors with authority to stamp out the evils arising from noxious weeds, insect pests and diseases of orchard trees.

To make Guelph Agricultural College more useful by enlarging its sphere of experimental work; especially in stock-breeding.

TAXATION.

Social justice demands the removal of existing inequalities in taxation, and we propose the amendment of the Assessment Act to permit municipalities to exempt improvements from taxation either in whole or in part.

To provide that the property of railway and other public utility corporations shall contribute to the revenues of municipalities and of the Province on a basis of assessment and taxation in every respect equal to the assessment and taxation of the property of private citizens.

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT.

The betterment of the social and industrial condition of the masses of the people shall be one of our supreme concerns.

The evils of intemperance constitute a grave social peril. During the ensuing Parliamentary term we will consider the best form of legislation to deal effectively with these evils, and the electors will have an opportunity of passing upon our proposals at the following general election.

We will immediately abolish the three-fifths vote in local option contests, and substitute a simple majority.

During the continuance of the license system we will secure the removal of its administration from political influence.

We promise the passage of a measure to provide for compensation of workmen injured in our industries, and to their dependents where such injuries result in death, modelled after the recent legislation in Great Britain, and to insure in all cases the payment of such compensation.

Special investigation and supervision by the Province of matters affecting the health and well-being of industrial workers and communities; encouragement of town planning and the prevention of the growth of congested areas; the suppression of tuberculosis and the avoidance of occupational diseases.

EDUCATION.

If the youth of this Province are to receive an education to fit them for citizenship, a more progressive and adequate educational policy is urgently needed. We propose:—

To promote a more co-operative relation between the primary schools, the high schools and the universities; more liberal grants in aid of primary education; the promotion of industrial training and technical instruction in urban and rural communities; the restoration of model schools, with a view to increase the supply and efficiency of teachers.

To provide through adequate training schools a sufficient supply of competent teachers, and thus insure under proper regulations that the pupils in every school in the Province receive a thorough English education.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND CONSERVATION.

We believe in and will support the public ownership and operation of public utilities, and especially the utilization of waterpowers throughout the Province for the generation and distribution of electricity; also the acquisition and operation of telephone lines.

A scientific policy of forestry, including the necessary reforestation of suitable Crown lands; the conservation of our timber resources by the revesting in the Crown of berths containing young pine timber; an adequate system of fire ranging to protect Crown timber; the sale of Crown timber by public auction rather than by private sale or tender; assistance financially, upon the principle adopted in regard to drainage, to municipalities that desire to purchase and reforest the thousands of acres of waste land now existing, and which increase yearly in many portions of the Province.

We condemn the alienation by the Whitney Government of millions of acres of the public domain by way of land grants to railway corporations.

ONTARIO RAILWAY AND MUNICIPAL BOARD.

There should be an enlargement of the powers and reorganization of the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board so as to render it an influential and effective tribunal in the public interest.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

It will be our duty to combat at all times by legislative enactment and administrative action such trusts, mergers and other combinations of capital as stifle competition, increase the cost of living and impair political independence.

We will abolish the right of the Government to deny access to the courts to those who claim to have suffered wrong or damage through the action of the Government or any Commission appointed thereunder.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The spoils and patronage systems are inimical to the highest efficiency of the civil service and to the best interests of the country. We propose the creation of a Civil Service Commission, and that appointments and promotions in the service shall be by merit after competitive examination.

ELECTORAL REFORM.

We will prohibit under adequate penalties all corporations over which the Province has jurisdiction from making campaign contributions; require the publication of all campaign contributions to candidates and political organizations, and provide for the appointment of a public prosecutor, as in England, whose duty it shall be to intervene in contested elections to see that all who are guilty of electoral fraud or corruption are duly prosecuted.

I shall take an early opportunity of discussing before the electors the policies herein outlined, and I appeal to all who believe in these policies to give to the Liberal candidates throughout this Province their cordial support.

POINTS IN MR. ROWELL'S MASSEY HALL SPEECH

"It is the duty of the State to see that in every school of the Province every child receives a thorough English education."

"To secure the development of New Ontario's inestimable mineral wealth, means a greatly enlarged home market for all the manufacturing industries of Ontario, means increased employment for working men, and an enlarged market for the farmers of old Ontario right at their own doors."

"The highest welfare of our Province demands that every encouragement should be given to the development of our agricultural industry so as not only to maintain but increase in number and in influence the rural population of our Province."

"In a democracy, where the people rule, the education of the masses is the safeguard of our liberties, the guarantee of our progress, and one of the real tests of the progressiveness of our civilization."

"Irrespective of our party affiliations, let our ambition be to maintain Ontario's premier place among the Provinces of our Dominion, and as an essential and integral part of our great Confederation."